An ENTIRE

VINDICATION

OF

Dr. Sherlock,

AGAINST HIS

Numerous and Uncharitable

ADVERSARIES,

To his Late Book, called,

The CASE of Allegiance, &c.

Licens'd, Decemb. 30. 1690.

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To the READER.

'TIS a tickliſh Task I have undertaken, to write to juſtifie the Man, and yet not entirely to eſpouſe his Cauſe, to vindicate the oppreſs'd, and yet at the ſame time not to maintain all his Proceedings; I ſay, this may look ſeemingly a Contradiction to ſome Men, that carry not a due Charity in their Cenſures; but to him that follows the pure and ideal Feature of Vertue, it will look as rational and accountable, as the compleateſt Vindication whatever.

Nor am I aſham'd on this, to entitle this Treatiſe, to the ſtile of an Entire Vindication of the Doctor; for what tho the Doctor be not infallible, nor his Reaſonings the unalterable Standard of Wiſdom? that is not a Character he ever preſum'd at, nor that could ever be expected from him, the rational Vindication to be expected therefore, either of the Doctor, or any Man elſe, is, that he has kept in the track of Vertue, and preſerv'd his ſincerity entire, and if that can be maintain'd, I preſume, we may very well bear with a perfect Salvo *to the Doctor's Reputation; nay, and Parts too, notwithſtanding he is not infallible.*

And methinks it grieves me here, that I am forc'd as it were to go between the skin and the fleſh, to ſeem to diſcountenance the Method of Mr Per. *and to vindicate a Doctrine I can by no means approve of; methinks, I ſay, this ſeems of great difficulty to me; for I always had too great an eſteem for the* Engliſh *Liberties, to diſreſpect their true Patriots; and on the other hand, injur'd Innocence on the Doctor's ſide, has forc'd me to take his part againſt them.*

Therefore Reader, excuſe me that I do this Office for the Doctor, nor be ſurprized, why I ſhould do it, that am his Adverſary in ſome things. Who was that, that dar'd the fury of the Prieſts in the late Reign, in all their Controverſies, was it no the Doctor? Who was it durſt then aſſault Popery,

not only with the vigorouſeſt Reaſons, but with his open Name to his Books, was it not Dr. Sherlock *? indeed, who was more eminent in all thoſe Controverſies than he ?*

When the Biſhop of London, *and* Magdalen-Colledge, *became Confeſſors to the late Tyde of Romiſh Tyranny, and when Dr.* Sharp *was ſilenc'd, did he recant his Proceedings, did he dread the imminent Dangers, or was he afraid of the threatned Oppreſſion, or did he not rather like a ſtout Champion for the Church, ſtand unconcern'd in the midſt of theſe things ? And muſt the Doctor then, now, become the only Object of our Contempt, muſt a little point of Caſuiſm, make him too mean to live amongſt us ?*

Are we all Proteſtants, are we all reſolv'd againſt the Common Enemy, the Romaniſts *? If we are, I ſay, how can this method be accountable with our deſigns ? not, I ſay, that therefore we ſhould thro' reſpect of Perſons, let the Doctor lead us blindfold ; but as we ſhould not, ſo we ſhould not for our own ſakes, let every little Controverſie ruine the Reputation of ſuch a Man.*

I cannot think the World fond to deſire the Doctor to be an ill Man, that they might make that out in matter of fact, and truth, that ſome of his Enemies have too much already done in pretences ; I ſay, I cannot be ſo uncharitable ; but if they do not, let them for their own Credit treat him better for the future.

To be ſhort, as for the general unreaſonableneſs of his Tenets in this matter, it is not the work of a Preface ; however, thus much I ſhall ſay, that the Doctor has not undeſervedly the Name of an eminent Reaſoner ; and if in ſome things his Notions are not exactly accountable to us, we have no reaſon to admire ; for had any of us laid our Breaſts ſo freely open in our Writings, as he has done, I may add, the beſt of us, 'tis not impoſſible, but that ſome of the World, had we as great a Poſt, would give us as hard a Cenſure as ever the Doctor had.

A VINDICATION OF Dr. Sherlock, &c.

WHEN a Man is unfairly Proſecuted and Libell'd rather than Anſwer'd, and when the Croud of Mobile-Writers break in upon him, as if they would cruſh and murder his Reputation with their Numbers, even his very Enemies, if they have any Generoſity, ought to ſtep in to ſupport him; indeed, 'tis the common Cauſe of all Mankind not to ſee any man unjuſtly ſuffer, and therefore though in ſome things I differ from the Doctor in Judgment, yet I cannot but reſcue him from thoſe Aſperſions that are ſo baſely caſt upon him.

But as his Adverſaries are now grown to ſuch a number, and their Arguments for the moſt part a borrow'd Tautology and Plagiariſm from each other, that except ſome few they almoſt all write the ſame thing, ſo I ſhall neither give my ſelf nor the Reader

that trouble, as to trace out all their little crooked Paths, but examining the ſum of all their Objections againſt the Doctor, at leaſt of all thoſe that are conſiderable, I ſhall briefly, and generally, as if they were all but one, ſhew how little he deſerves their ill treatment, and how eminent an Example he is of Innocence abus'd.

Without therefore particularly regarding either the Vindications or Anſwers that the Doctor has had upon this Subject, for that were endleſs, and were too perplex'd a Method to do him Juſtice by; I ſay therefore, without hinting at either Perſons or Anſwers, I ſhall take the Liberty to make ſome few Reflections on the chief Points in Controverſie, in favour of the Doctor, and if any of his Adverſaries think themſelves therein aggriev'd, I'le promiſe them they ſhall not want a reaſonable Satisfaction.

But it may be objected, That under this Pretence perhaps I ſhall conceal or ſlur over thoſe things that may be moſt conſiderable, and only Vindicate the Doctor in thoſe that are obvious or trifling; I ſay as to that, the World will judge, and will ſee when they have read what I write; but if at the entrance it can encourage them to know whether I am not conſcious to my own defects in it or not, I aſſure them, I know nothing that is material that is objected againſt him, but is reconcileable to the Doctor as a Learned, Ingenious, and Sincere Man; and if his Adverſaries can ſee any thing to the contrary, I ſhall leave them to ſhew it.

To proceed therefore, I ſay then firſt, is it generous for Twenty men together to throng in their Anſwers

Anſwers to one Man? Indeed, is it not juſt as if they were afraid of having Replies, or at beſt, that thruſting thus into the Throng, they might eſcape the better for their being in the Multitude; and yet not I mean, that I believe that all thoſe Gentlemen that have wrote againſt him have had ſo mean a Deſign neither; but I ſay in general, is it a Credit for any man to be caught among the Mobile, and giving an Eminent Divine an ill Name, when at the ſame time he has all *Billingsgate* upon his back?

Methinks, I ſay, theſe Gentlemen, for as for the others they ſcarce deſerve to be taken notice of; and therefore I ſay, methinks the choice and flower of the Doctor's Adverſaries, had they been brave, might have waited till the Doctor had been in a capacity to Anſwer them, and not Aſſault him as they have done, where they could have no rational proſpect for a return; I would only ask them one Queſtion, when they ſo much as favour ſo dirty a proceeding in others, in Writing after them, do they not as good as half take their Guilt upon them? Is this their doing Juſtice to their Cauſe? Indeed, is this their doing as they would be done unto?

In ſhort, Gentlemen, ſuppoſing the Doctor in ſome meaſure to blame, and taking it for granted he deſerv'd your Anſwers, yet when ſome for Malice, ſome through Miſtake, and ſome for Gain, had thus meanly and diſingenuouſly attempted to deface his Reputation in what he deſerved not, would you after this pretend to any thing like Honour, and yet back them in their proceedings? Surely Sirs, for the future, if Generoſity cannot move you,

yet Humanity, nay, your own Intereſt and Reputation ought to make you more wary; methinks in ſuch caſe, rather than fail, you ſhould Vindicate him your ſelves, at worſt you ſhould leave ſuch little Raylors alone to expoſe themſelves upon him.

In ſhort, Sirs, if you have a mind for the Reputation of Common Wittiſts, Buffoons, and Mercenaries, write on; but if you have not, ingenuouſly retract your Methods and Proceedings, and ceaſe to Triumph at trampled-on Innocence; and to vent your Spleens, where I am perſwaded, had you better conſider'd your ſelves, and were you not rather Bruits than Men, you would turn your Aſſiſtance.

Beſides, Gentlemen, give me leave to tell you, I mean ſome of the beſt of you, I cannot accuſe you all, for ſome of you have wrote as becomes Gentlemen, had you not throng'd your ſelves into the Croud; but ſome of you, I am afraid too many, have wrote as if you had neither Charity nor Juſtice in your Cenſures; you have demeaned your ſelves like Tyrants in your peremptory Deciſions, and treated the Doctor no better than if he were the worſt of Men.

I ſhall not hint at any particular Anſwers in this matter, becauſe I had rather ſmother than increaſe the flame; and though the Doctor's Adverſaries have had but little Charity in ſparing him, yet his Friends think to take another courſe, and as they apprehend would become him, are willing rather if poſſible to overcome evil with good, and to ſhew them whatever raſh Judgments they have been guilty

guilty of, they do not delight in Recriminations, tho' possibly they might make them even with Justice.

However in general to point at some of your Guilts; and to shew you I do not write without good Grounds, pray but reflect a little: Christianity bids us not think easily any evil of our Brother, but put the best sence and construction upon his words and actions: but you will out-face us, he means ill, tho' he declares his sincerity; whilst you know after that, that none but God can censure him, that alone knows his Heart. Thus one tells him, his Wife sways him; another insinuates, that 'tis Preferments without his Wife; and a third, that his Pride has born him to this singularity.

But, Sirs, whilst you did thus, I am afraid you forgot what might be said of your selves, I mean justly of you that censure so; the Doctor may be in the right, as I am perswaded he is, but you as false Judges must be in the wrong; nay more, were the Doctor corrupt in his Protestations, which far be it from us to think, yet if there were but a possibility that he might be sincere, I am sure nothing can excuse you from the guilt of a mean, wilful, and uncharitable Slander.

And I write this the rather, on the supposition of the truth of the worst Character, that your conjectural thoughts can give the Doctor, because the least lurking-hole may not be left for your Apology; in plain terms, to shew the World, that nothing but Brass, Impudence, and meer Jack-pudding Grin, can excuse some of the Doctor's Enemies, and a dishо-

diſhonourable and uncharitable Careleſneſs, moſt of the beſt of them in their proceedings.

Had they in general ſhew'd the Inconſiſtency of the Doctor's Reaſoning, and the Danger of it to the State; and had they upon this exhorted him modeſtly to re-conſider, and thereon to renounce his new and ill-grounded Opinion, they had acted ſomething like Chriſtians: but point blank, the firſt word, to accuſe even a Father in the Church of Corruption and Deſign, before any proof to juſtifie it, indeed before the offer of a Conviction by ſtronger Arguments; I ſay, to proceed thus peremptorily and raſhly, and to anticipate all hopes of his vindicating himſelf in a Reply, thro' their unjuſt Sentence paſt upon him, is to Execute him firſt, and Try him after; and a piece of Juſtice, that of itſelf alone, with any Man either of Honour or Honeſty, were enough to vindicate the Doctor.

But for once, I ſhall paſs by theſe two little faults in the Doctor's Adverſaries; to wit, want of Generoſity and Charity; for 'tis poſſible the Abſurdities the Doctor has committed in his Vindication, has fir'd them to over-ſee themſelves to this degree in their Anſwers: and therefore, becauſe as the Doctor's Friend, who I am perſwaded would not ſerve them ſo himſelf, I ſhall ſhew them, I am willing to allow them all the fair Play imaginable, and therefore we will ſee what it is they have to ſay to his Cauſe.

In the Doctor's Cauſe, then I ſay there are two things principally which they are offended at; the Firſt, That it is very diſagreeable to the State. And the

the Second, That it is unreasonable. Now as to both these, I shall give them brief and solid Answers; and tho', as I have said, I am not altogether of the Doctor's Mind; yet 'tis because I think he has not a sufficient ground in Revelation, and not in Reason, as his Adversaries charge him; and therefore I do not doubt, I say, from their Principles, to shew them, that they have but little reason to be so offended with him.

As to the first of these two Objections, to wit, The disagreeableness of the Doctor's Principles to the State, I shall return two Answers; the first, That his Adversaries have abus'd him, and put a worse sence upon his words, when they were very well capable of a better. And Secondly, That even in the very sence they have taken them, they state an Hypothesis as agreeable to the State as any of them, I may say the very best of them have propos'd.

First then, I say, when the Doctor laid it down as a Principle, That whoever was setled in a Government, I mean peaceably, and by consent, had God's Authority, tho' he at first attain'd it by force; I say, when the Doctor laid down these Propositions, what did he do, but as it were declare, that a King by Conquest and Consent after it was a good King, and whether he were an Usurper before or not, I challenge all his Adversaries to disprove his Title.

Now I say, when the Doctor's Principles can so justly resolve themselves into a Conquest, and tho' not of the People, yet of the King, by, and through the Consent of the People; I say, when the Doctor

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by this prudently chose a middle way, to avoid the *Scilla* and *Caribdis* of Passive-Obedience and Resistance, methinks his Adversaries might have been so ingenious, as to have understood him so, and not to have prest him to a nice decision, which be it pursued home of either side, must needs offend the State.

Now whether what the Doctor in this Case has laid down, will amount to a Right of Conquest or not, shall be made to appear more plainly by and by; but if it does, as I do not question but I shall be able to make out, 'tis plain, how disingenuously his Adversaries have dealt with him. Let him call it a Divine Right, and let them expect him to call it a Legal Right; yet as what he has wrote, has evidently amounted to a Right by Conquest, as good a Right as Mortal need desire to possess in a just Cause; I say, as it amounts to that, and as that is evidently the drift of the Doctor's Reasonings, methinks they needed not to have distorted him from it.

But Secondly, even in their own way, in their tacking this Principle to Passive-Obedience, and so endeavouring to expose it, with all the absurd Consequences they can draw from both together; I say, even in that dress, it appears more likely to be agreeable to the State, than any thing his Adversaries have set up; in plain terms, the State has as much reason to be disobliged at their Title, with its Consequences, from Resistance, and from the Doctor's Title, and Consequences from Passive-Obedience.

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The Doctor ſets up Force and the Conſent of the People, to transfer God's Authority; and his Adverſaries ſay, The Choice of the People gives a Legal Right. Thus the Doctor ſeems to diſoblige the Prince, by denying him verbally a Legal Right: but his Adverſaries do as bad, when they ſhew him by Example, that he is to bear Rule only *Durante Beneplacito*, of the giddy Mobb. But what? you ſay his Adverſaries Complement him with a Legal Right; 'tis true, they do: but as their fickle Caſe ſtands, I don't know whether Dr. *Sherlock*'s Divine Right, and Paſſive-Obedience, may not be more acceptable to them.

And what then, is the Caſe come to this? The King then has ſurely great reaſon to be beholding to theſe his *Durante Beneplacito* Men, and to be aggriev'd at the Doctor's Methods; they honour him with a Legal Right indeed: but they tack it ſo to Abdications and Forfeitures, that a Man had better be Tenant at Will to a good Landlord, than Abſolute Monarch on ſuch Terms, and to depend ſo much upon every giddy reliſh of a factious Populace.

I ſay then, if this be the Caſe, as it manifeſtly is, with thoſe that give the King a Legal Right, from the Depoſing the late King *James*, and the chooſing Their Preſent Majeſties; I ſay, if this be the Caſe, I am ſure the Doctor's Principles are not half ſo likely to be offenſive to the Government, as his Adverſaries, and therefore on their own ſuppoſition, they have brought in this as a Motive for their Writing, againſt all the ſence and reaſon in the World.

In ſhort, can his Adverſaries have the Face to ſay, that when a Man has acknowledg'd a King inveſted with God's Authority, without the words of Legal Right, that he can half ſo much diſoblige the Government, as he that lays down Principles (or at leaſt implies them) of Abdication and Forfeiture, Principles that like the *Arcana Imperii*, at beſt ought to be kept ſecret, and not preach'd abroad, if allow'd, and that like Swords in Childrens and Mad-mens hands, ought not too freely to be truſted in the hands of a giddy Populace.

Indeed, had his Adverſaries but modeſtly urg'd, that he had better have concealed his Reaſons to himſelf, than ſo have urg'd them to offend the State, I had agreed with them, had it been only on the probability, that what he has wrote might have afforded offence; and yet not, I ſay, but that methinks too, if he has given offence, by not granting a Legal Right, he has made it up again by his Divine Right; and if what he has wrote may be taken in an evil ſence, it may alſo receive a better.

So that in truth, the ſuggeſtions of the Doctor's Anſwerers are to be blam'd, and not the Doctor; and indeed, whatever they pretend, the Government is as much obliged to them, as a Man on Horſeback to a Stander-by, that tickles his Horſe, when he knows he is us'd upon it to throw his Rider; and whether like cunning States-men, in imitation of Water-men, they oppoſe the Doctor ſeemingly for the Government; but really as they are againſt it; whether they Look one way, and Row ano-

another, or not, I dare not be so uncharitable as to censure; but as I dare not, yet this is manifest, and may be averr'd, this seems the natural effect and tendency of their proceedings.

And indeed, this brings it to my mind, that the Doctor has *Jacobite* Enemies as well as others, and may be could one see the bottom, one would find, that 'tis from them that the greatest part of this Fire is kindled; and in truth, as manifest as it is, methinks his other Adversaries should be asham'd to persecute him as they do. St. *Paul* could rejoyce, that Christ was preach'd, tho' even in Contention, and really, did the most Loyal of the Doctor's Adversaries, rather seek the good of the Government, than the meer resentments of their Spleens and Factions, they would be glad, that the Doctor had brought in this New Principle of Allegiance, were it only to bring over, if possible, those Members that dissented from the Government for Passive-Obedience, and not quarrel with him for the novelty of it.

And really when I consider this, methinks I cannot but admire to see, how much Men are blinded by the fondness of Opinion, that they can rather bear to sacrifice their Interest, than to allow the least latitude in their Casuistical Decisions, that they will rather fright every body that is coming into the Government, than embrace them, if not exactly of their Sentiments; in short, an arrogant Tyranny, and as Enthusiastick, and as much against all the natural Principles of Self-defence, as ever can be pretended of Passive-Obedience, at the worst of it.

But to turn my Argument to those *Jacobites*, that under the pretext and colour of Passive-Obedience, would fain destroy our present Settlement and Allegiance; I say, as to them, methinks the Doctor's Argument is as full and convincing, as either they can expect, or the nature of the thing can bear; and 'tis well for those, that the Doctor has so many Enemies to keep them in countenance, that they might be the better able to withstand his Reasonings.

I say therefore, if the Doctor's Adversaries Arguments from the Right of Resistance cannot move them; yet the Doctor's from the Right of Conquest must do it; or else there is no Prince may be in the World, at least very few, have any Rights, at best, originally to their Thrones. In truth, the Doctor's Right by Conquest is as well the most comprehensive, as the most justifiable Title. And indeed, the Doctor's King, setled quietly, and entirely by the Consent of the People in possession, is the Resistances's Man King by a new Election; and were the Quarrels about Words taken away, they would amount to just the same thing.

No, but you say, 'tis the Election gives the Title, and not the Consent to possession; I say, 'tis false: the Consent to Possession argues an Election, tho' not a Formal one; and 'tis such an Election, that no Christian, I am sure, can evade with a safe Conscience; indeed, without Men will be treacherous, and that barbarously too, they owe Allegiance where they receive Protection, and he must neither pretend to Generosity, Honour, or Conscience, that will not pay it.

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A Generous Enemy will scorn to stoop to so mean a Dissimulation, a Man of Honour would take the Field against such an Usurper, and a Man of the least Conscience, would sooner die than he would play the Viper in the Fable, sting him to Death that gave him warmth and life, or at the best pretence, do Evil that Good might come, and ungratefully receive the Courtesies of a Friend, the more basely to do the viler, I should say Offices unworthy of an Enemy.

Indeed Popery, as it has corrupted our Religion, so it has our Morals also, and has made even Christians to do those things, that the honester Heathens would blush at; but as they have, I hope we will not corrupt with them, and think to conquer them by out-villaning of them; but rather bravely, at least our selves, be good and honest, and deter them from their black and deviliſh Practices, by a Vengeance and Resentment suitable to their Demerits.

In short, if there be either Laws or Rights of War and Peace, a Government by Consent is as just as by Election, and as secure a bottom to found it on; and if Men are resolv'd to cavil, they may justlier do it at a Right thro' Election, than Possession: for instance, When a Government is dissolv'd, (pardon the expression) why am I bound to stand to any Man, or Councils Election for me, why shall some Vills, and yet not some whole Cities, send Members to Conventions? Indeed, were I not by the Laws of God, bound to study and follow the best Methods of Peace, where were otherwise my Obligation to these things?

And

And therefore I say, the Doctor's Argument, that as God manifestly allows, indeed requires Changes in State, so he confirms the New Model, by its entire Settlement, is irrefragable, against all the Attacks either of Passive-Obedience, or Resistance-Men in the World; and the Objection about Usurpers against it, is as idle as weak; in plain terms, we exclaim in Complement to New and Rightful Princes, at the removal of Usurpers; but in truth, whoever by Force, or otherwise, has once secur'd to himself peaceably, the possession and enjoyment of a Throne, is at least to his Subjects as good a King, as either the Right of Conquest or Election can make him.

Has the Usurper no Right, why do you transmit it then to him by a pusillanimous submission; and why do you not at the first approach of the wrong, fly to Arms and Councels to resist the Injustice, and to support the injur'd Prince? But if basely you once sacrifice your Loyalty, and his Right, by at least an implicite Contract of Allegiance; think you like a Coward and an Arch-Traytor, afterwards to re-assume that Right you have resign'd, and meanly to take advantages from your own Villany.

Nay more, to push this Argument home further, such a Title thro' Possession exceeds all the Elections in the World, a quiet Possession shews a compleat Election, whilst a formal one, by a Convention, or otherwise, may be corrupt and packt, and more unjust and illegal than the Tyrant and Usurper himself; in plain terms, were any Convention or Parliament so packt, and can you think any honest Subject

ject thereupon bound to leave his Lawful Soveraign againſt his Conſent and Conſcience? which 'tis evident, when either by inadvertency or Treachery he has ſuffer'd an Uſurper, even for but a Month to enjoy quiet poſſeſſion he is bound to do.

Having therefore I hope ſufficiently clear'd the Doctor hitherto, I ſhall try to deſcend a little further, to free him from thoſe Calumnies that are caſt againſt him from the Topicks of Paſſive-Obedience, &c. not but that his Adverſaries, as I have obſerv'd have dealt very unfairly with him in this thing; for when his Argument, as I have ſhewn, might juſtly have been maintain'd without the leaſt thought of Paſſive-Obedience, or affronting the Government; I ſay, what needed his Adverſaries to bring in thoſe things upon it; indeed does it not ſeem meerly as it were to calumniate him, as if they would inſinuate all that the Doctor has wrote is wrong, becauſe we have already prejudicated him in that one Error of Paſſive-Obedience?

I ſay therefore, as I am by all Circumſtances hitherto convinc'd of the Doctor's Integrity, and as this prejudice of Paſſive-Obedience is reflected upon him, whether beſides the purpoſe or not, at preſent I ſhall not regard; but as I am reſolv'd to vindicate him thoroughly, and as the proſpect of his Cauſe doth not afford me any thing to diſcourage me, ſo I do not doubt but to ſhew his Adverſaries, that for all what they have wrote againſt Paſſive-Obedience, it is not ſo contemptible a Doctrine, that a Man ſhould be hooted out of the World for it, or that the Doctor ſhould loſe his Reputation thro' profeſſing it.

And

And I venture to write this, as I have said, tho' I do not believe the Doctrine myself, for as the Arguments the Doctors Adversaries insist upon against it are Irrationalness and Enthusiasm, and as mine is from quite another Topick, the want of clear Revelation for it, I say as we reason quite from different grounds, and as I apprehend his Adversaries grounds very insufficient, I think I may justly vindicate the Doctrine as to them, tho' I neither believe it, nor desire to set it up myself; and this I conceive will be a sufficient Vindication of the Doctor in the Case, that tho' he may be in an Errour, 'tis not so gross as they would suggest, nor indeed in any particular like unto any that they have alledg'd against him.

Nor shall I in this Case make any Apology for the Doctor, that we might justly bear with him in this prejudice, when a University, indeed a whole Kingdom hear once gave him its encouragement in it; and yet this methinks, I might justly say to his Adversaries, surely, had their Zeal been so great meerly against the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, they might have vented it, without flinging all the Dirt of it upon one Man; indeed, to prevent them from the Uncharitableness of particular Reflections, they would have done more honourably to have fell upon the University itself, that many Years since, burnt all the Propositions in contradiction to it.

And as I shall not insist upon this prejudice, so I shall not upon another, may I say, full as considerable, to wit, with what deliberation and thought, Men of true Piety alter their Opinions; I say, I shall not insist on these things, tho' yet I take the liberty

liberty to hint at them, be it only to ſhew the Doctor's Adverſaries, that even theſe very prejudices, how trifling ſoever they may appear, yet they might juſtly have mov'd them to a greater Moderation and Charity in their Cenſures; but as I have ſaid, I ſhall not inſiſt on theſe things, but arguing for the Cauſe itſelf (for all the Objections that have been made againſt it) I ſhall ſhew, that 'tis neither ſo ſcandalous, nor ſo ſenceleſs as has been imagin'd.

Now the better to do this, I ſhall ſtate the Objections againſt this Doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience, under two heads, *viz.* the firſt, The general Unreaſonableneſs of it. And the ſecond, Its Enthuſiaſm. As for the Scripture-proof of it, as I have ſaid, I ſhall not ſo much concern myſelf about it, becauſe it has not been any ways made uſe of as the Foundational Argument, and therefore, I ſay, I ſhall leave that to what the Doctor hath already wrote upon it.

Firſt therefore, as to the general Unreaſonableneſs of it: I would fain ask the Doctor's Adverſaries, what it is they think more reaſonable. What, Reſiſtance? I ſay, it muſt be that, if any thing, for there is no mean; and this is manifeſt, 'tis the Duty of the Clergy to acquaint their Flock of one or other, when they conſult them Caſuiſtically; I ſay, therefore let us ſuppoſe theſe two ſet together in compariſon, and let us ſee which is the moſt reaſonable of them.

Paſſive-Obedience leaves all to the Fury of a Tyrant; Reſiſtance to the Rage of the Rabble: but you ſay, the Rabble may be reſtrain'd of ſuch their

Right of Resistance, by (at least unjust) Laws (for so you must call them in such case); and so I say, the Prince will be restrain'd from his Tyranny, by means of Passive-Obedience, thro' the fear of an unlawful Resistance in his Subjects.

In short, you object the mischiefs that have ensued upon Passive-Obedience; and I tell you, as great have follow'd the giddiness of Resistance; or if you cannot believe what I write in this matter, on my bare asseveration, and want an example, pray examine *Matchiavel's* History of *Florence*, and there you will find it set out effectually; indeed, we do not see so many Examples of the Tyranny and Mischiefs of Resistance in the People, as of the Arbitrariness of *Nero's*; but the reason is, because that few States have been fram'd so, as to tolerate such free Resistances, and which indeed is a plain and experimental Argument, that one Tyrant is more tolerable and easie than many.

So that in plain terms, both ways are extreams, and equally unreasonable, and if either be supportable, 'tis Passive-Obedience, which seems an Error on the right hand, and in favour of Government; and yet for all that, in truth, the Controversie is as dangerously touch'd on the one side, as the other, and the Error of both sides is, that Men would vainly endeavour to bring the Actions of Man to a steady Rule; when alas, he is too giddy a Creature to bear it.

In plain terms, a Free State should neither suffer any Man to preach up Passive-Obedience, nor Resistance; neither Passive-Obedience, I say, for fear

fear of ſaving it, nor Reſiſtance for fear of embroiling it; and indeed, if Men have honeſt and peaceable Intentions, they may very well be content to preach up Obedience to Governours, without touching at the nice Caſuiſme of it, of either ſide.

Nor is it enough in ſuch Caſe to ſay, that you can define the exact Rule of Reſiſtance, where, and in what Caſe it ought to be us'd; for the ſame may be alledg'd for the Doctrine of Paſſive-Obedience; for even the Teachers of that Doctrine have declared and limited the Authority of Princes alſo, that they might not abuſe their Power; I ſay, theſe defining and caſuiſtical Deciſions of Reſiſtance and Command, will do no more good on the one ſide, than the other; for put the Sword either into the hands of the Prince or Rabble, there's equal danger that either of them may abuſe it.

I think therefore the Doctor's Adverſaries have had but little reaſon to charge him with the Unreaſonableneſs of Paſſive-Obedience, when they ſet up Reſiſtance themſelves; indeed, had they barely rejected Paſſive-Obedience as unſcriptural, and not endeavoured by Reaſoning to undermine it with a Doctrine rais'd from Topicks of a far worſe conſequence. I mean, had they inſinuated to him, that he had done better, had he relied meerly on the Right of Conqueſt, without hinting at Paſſive-Obedience; then, I ſay, they would have had the Juſtice of the Cauſe of their ſide, and their Demands had been modeſt and reaſonable; and poſſibly what the Doctor would never have denied

them, for the very drift of his Reasoning tends the same way; but the Unreasonableness taxd on his Principles from their Grounds and Reasonings, has not the least manner of colour for it.

The Second Objection that I am to answer against Passive Obedience, is the Enthusiasm of it; a Charge as I find flung upon it, because out of its abundant Confidence in God, it flings a Man up into the very Jaws of Danger, without so much as the very thought of Self-defence; I say, this seems a very formidable Objection against Passive-Obedience; but when we come to handle it, it moulders away to nothing.

Previously therefore to this matter, and to clear the Controversie about it, I shall define what is properly Enthusiasm, and what not. I say, then to offer at a private Revelation, or any private Rule of Faith from unwarranted Conceit, is Enthusiasm; but only to trust the known Revelation, was never called Enthusiasm properly, and by any Man of Sence that ever I knew yet.

I say therefore, the Doctor in following sincerely the Scriptures, tho' in a mistake, is no more guilty of Enthusiasm, than his Adversaries are of Innocence in slandering him with it. This may be indeed, the Doctor may be in an Error in interpreting Scriptures, as I believe he is: and if he is, they would have done well to undeceive him; but then, if they would, they should have studied to have done it with that sincerity and candour, that their Methods might not prejudice him faster, then their Arguments convince him; or else they would have but little right left to the claim of Charity, and good Intention in the case.

But

But methinks I hear it objected, That this Answer is not sufficient, that the trusting in God, and omitting Self-defence still remains, and 'tis that is the Enthusiasm; I say it is not, but it is Faith, and possibly not so unaccountable a one as some Men imagine neither; indeed is there not an Example in the *Jews* where a whole Nation thus trusted in God for their Deliverance, nay, and that more then once too, and was deliver'd accordingly.

Nor is it an argument in such case, that because we have not seen any example of such Deliverance of late, that therefore we may not expect it, if the World be generally so vile as not to deserve such a Protection from God, shall we therefore be wicked in despair of it; in short, because the coldness of Mens faith has now reduc'd it to be perfectly without efficacy, shall we therefore fling Faith itself aside.

But to illustrate this by Example: The Martyrs in Queen *Mary*'s days they trusted in God, and quitted their Self-defence, nay, and that to a great number together; yes, and more after that Queen *Mary* both corruptly, and contrary to the most solemn Engagments, had violated the Laws, and persecuted them, I say, after all this, yet they through their trust in God, quitted their Self-defence and Right of Resistance, and yet no one that ever I knew, called them Enthusiasts.

Indeed by the Principles of Resistance they might have concluded the whole State, King, Queen, Lords, and Commons void, if not for their unjust Law of destroying for Religion, meer Religion I mean, yet at least as the first had broken their Trusts,

Truſts, and the latter were rather packed then legally call'd to their Aſſembly, I ſay, by the Principles of Reſiſtance they might juſtly have concluded thus; but as they did not, and did not fly to reſolve themſelves to their firſt Elements the Soveraign Lords the People, I ſay, though they did not, yet I hope we may juſtly give them the Titles of Martyrs through Faith, without branding them with Enthuſiaſm.

In plain terms, at this rate at laſt we ſhall drive Martyrdom out of the World, and he will be reputed equally Fool and Coward that does not dye with his Sword in his hand: Is Martyrdom in a great many private Men a Duty, I may ſay to half the People, as has lately near happen'd in *France*; I ſay, why is it not in Kingdoms alſo, doth Enthuſiaſm *recipere magis & minus*, or is it to hold in all caſes alike; indeed why muſt we be Enthuſiaſts in part through a Revelation, and not throughout; ſo that 'tis plain theſe Men muſt either quite reject Martyrdom with Paſſive Obedience, or elſe ingeniouſly acknowledge, that laying aſide all the Abſurdities of reaſoning in it, they will with me wholly rely on the Authority of the Scriptures for it.

So that the reaſoning of the matter will be reſolved thus: All People that have truſted in God through Paſſive Obedience, have not been deliver'd with the *Iſraelites*; no more have not all Martyrs like *Shadrach*, *Meſhack* and *Abednego*, been deliver'd from the power of Flames and Tortures; I ſay, therefore as we are not to expect always our Faith to ſucceed in the latter caſe of Martyrdom, ſhall we

be

be so unreasonable as to murmur and repine that Sufferings are likely to befal us in the other, and for that reason only to conclude it cannot be a Duty upon us?

In short, I know no other way that the Doctor's Enthusiastical Adversaries have to evade the force of this reasoning, unless by pretending that 'tis one thing to resist the King that has only the Executive Power, and another to resist the Fountain or Legislative Power; and as I have shew'd that cannot help them, for under the pretence even of the Parliament's being pack'd, or Pensioners, the Resistance Men will allow themselves to oppose the Legislative Power also; so that we may well conclude this Principle of Resistance can scarce rationally admit a Man in such circumstances as to be a Martyr, and if it does not by that trespass as much on the side of Infidelity and Diffidence in God, as Passive Obedience does on Enthusiasm, I am very much mistaken.

Nor indeed is this the only paralel Case to justifie this sort of Enthusiasm, wherein a Man so trusts in God as to give up himself, for if all such courses must imply a ridiculous Enthusiasm, Faith it self must be ridiculous also: Thus *Abraham* must be an Enthusiast for leaving his Father's Country: And the Christian that bestows a Charity is an Enthusiast for parting with that present supply, that by possibility he may stand in need of.

So that I hope I may now very well conclude, I have acquitted the Doctor from all pretence of Enthusiasm, when the very same Argument that his Adversaries have brought to accuse him with, as I

have

have manifeſtly ſhewn, will not only, if not ſoftned, ruine Paſſive Obedience, but even Chriſtianity, and all manner of Faith and Religion whatever alſo.

And I think I may now draw to a Concluſion, and I hope to the general ſatisfaction alſo, for if I am not as much miſtaken as ever I was in my life, I have given the Doctor an effectual Vindication, I mean ſuch an one as is not only able to return the Dirt caſt upon him back upon his Adverſaries, but with all good Men to reſtore him to his former Reputation and Eſteem.

I think I have ſufficiently ſhewn to the World, that his Adverſaries are not generous, that they can aſſault him thus in Crouds; that they are not charitable, that they can attribute Scandals to him againſt all the Rules of Sincerity and Honour; I have ſhewn moreover, that what he hath wrote may receive effectually a good ſence, and that without Scandal to the Government too, without Men are reſolv'd to force his Words to the worſt; and as I have ſhewn this, ſo I might have ſtaid here, and ſaid this is enough, had I thought fit only juſt to Vindicate his Cauſe.

But for the ſatisfaction of his Enemies I have gone on further, I have ſhewn them his Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience is not ſo abſurd neither as they would inſinuate; in ſhort, I have ſhewn them it is as good as Reſiſtance, and let them make the worſt of it; and to this I have added, that the Aſperſion of Enthuſiaſm on the Doctor, is manifeſtly an Injuſtice and a Reproach.

To this I might add his Praying for King *William*, when he wiſhed King *James* the Succeſs, his Pro-

Proteſting againſt his promoting Non-ſwearing, when at the ſame time when aſk'd he gave his Opinion, and his Inconſtancy in changing his Principles, and many other ſuch trifling Objections, that a good Man would be aſhamed to bring them; however his Adverſaries have alledg'd them, and as thoſe three I have nam'd ſeem the moſt conſiderable of them, I have reſolv'd to give them the ſatisfaction that their Objections are not Unanſwerable, and then I hope they will be content to diſmiſs me.

I ſay then the Doctor prayed for King *William*, he did ſo, and 'tis the Command of Chriſt to Pray for our Enemies, as I preſume the Doctor's Loyalty then to K. *James* could not make him otherwiſe; I ſay then if he did this, and has Chriſt's Command to juſtifie him, what hurt is there in it? indeed if the Doctor had us'd particular and inconſiderate Expreſſions in his Prayer, he had been to blame, but as long as he deliver'd himſelf in general Terms, who ſhall accuſe him for it.

When Chriſt bid us pray for our Enemies, did he command us to imply in ſuch our Prayers, that God would proſper them ſo as to confound and deſtroy us, or not rather that God would direct their hearts to ſave them, and move them to right us where they injur'd us; ſurely I ſay the latter; and if that were ſo neceſſarily implied in the general Command of Chriſt, to pray for our Enemies, ſhall we deny the Doctor that priviledge in the particular application of it.

But you will ſay he nam'd him King when he did ſo; and what then, was it not then rationally a doubt in his thoughts, whether he were a King

or no; and if it was, might not he justly use the common Stile and Name he then went by, without either Hypocrisie or Cowardize, when at the same time by his refusing the Oaths he put the World out of all doubt of his Dissimulation; I say, might he not honourably, as well as conscientiously in such a case Complement the King on his Doubt, at least with the name of King.

Indeed if he had had no Doubt upon him, but was convinc'd that he ought immediately to have help'd his distressed Prince, I say, then either he or any Man else under such a Conviction, though they ought from the Command of Christ to pray for the new Prince, yet withal they ought to refuse to Complement him so far as to call him King, but, I say, when the Doctor was without any manner of such Conviction, and was at least satisfied that he was quit of his Assistance if not of his Allegiance to his former Prince: Surely, I say, in such case for his very Doubt's sake the Doctor might Complement his new Prince with the name of King, especially when setled by the Choice of the Nation in the Throne; and methinks no Casuist in the World should deny him that liberty.

And as to the Doctor's Enemies who pretend thus to refuse to pray for the King, ought withal to remember, that they ought to act accordingly; they ought, as I have said before, to declare themselves in Hostile manner, and flie from his Protection, for if they once basely or lazily submit to him, as I have before observed, they transfer their Allegiance, and as long as the new King is in Possession, they cannot retract it without Treachery; and consequently

sequently, they ought to pray for him as King also, if the Title they suffer him to usurp be such.

And I might add to this also, that those Men that are guilty of such a mean and clandestine Treachery against the State, have the more reason in gratitude to her Mercy, to acknowledge her for the future; for however they harbour themselves under the scruple of Passive-Obedience, or otherwise, they ought to remember withal, that 'tis a singular Charity, may I say a greater, than ever they shew'd to the Doctor, that the State shews to them, in not treating them as Enemies; when indeed, without under a Prince of such an unparallel'd Clemency, I don't know what they would well expect otherwise.

The second Charge against the Doctor, is, That he has chang'd his Opinion: right, and suppose he has, What have not others done before him? or must it be an offence in the Doctor, only to be converted from a mistake; but you say, he did it with deliberation: and it may be so; but what then, that shews him the more likely to be a Master of the greater Integrity in it, and not that he is corrupt; in plain terms, these Exceptions are rather Cavils than Reasonings.

When a Man ties himself to Principles by the Catalogue, I must confess he may be more constant than the Doctor; but when a Man allows himself free liberty of thinking, and sincerity, he's a confident and ignorant Pretender, that dares say, he shall not change his Opinion.

Nor is it difficult in such Case to say, why some are longer in their change than others; for Gentlemen that give their Reason free reigns, pursue her at first sight: corrupt Men act without Examining; but Divines that walk by a double sight, Reason and Revelation; nay, sometimes cast in Tradition to them, may be fairly allow'd a longer time to deliberate; and yet who shall say to a sincere Man, just so long.

The mischief on't is, honest Men change their Minds out of Conviction, and Knaves out of Design; now the uncharitable World in this case, tho' it knows it cannot discern between these two, and therefore ought in all Cases to put the best face on things; streight without more ado, upon every little peck or passion censures Men, just as if they had got the sole Prerogative of God in searching Mens Hearts.

Nor is it enough in such case to say, that such a Man is Learned, and cannot but know better; for Men that say such things, do but blindly discover their own presumptuous Ignorance. Alas, there is no Casuist can answer all Objections, even in the plainest Cases; perfect Wisdom is the Prerogative of God: and besides, if they could, we should consider how much such Men as the Doctor are diverted by the Publick, by his Sermons, by his writing necessary particular Tracts and Controversies, &c.

The last thing I propos'd to speak to, is, that they find fault with the Doctor, for giving his Opinion, when he would pretend himself free from dispersing his Doctrine of Non-Swearing formerly. Now as to this, I say, it is a meer Calumny; and indeed,

indeed, its own disingeniousness speaks it so. To give our Opinion, when ask'd, of a thing, where good or evil, is a Duty that no Man can dispense with in himself; and therefore, when the Doctor declared he was not for spreading his Doctrine, who would lay that upon him, that he could not avoid.

Had he wrote Books to convince others upon it, or had he but wrote Letters to that purpose; nay, had he but sought to promote the Subject and Controversie in discourse, where he was not directed by a Letter for satisfaction, or a Friend, in a Casuistick Question; I say, had the Doctor's Adversaries prov'd this, they might have shew'd this expression of his inconsistency, and prov'd him guilty from his own words, of what he would insinuate himself to be innocent; but to do as they have done, is to shew only that they would be glad of the occasion for such a false Judgment.

All things therefore considered, I hope his Adversaries will repent what they have been guilty of, and endeavour to repair that Reputation they have so unjustly injur'd. I am sensible what I can write in his defence, is not likely in all particulars to be so strong, as what he himself might alledge; but as indeed the Cause is too nasty for the Doctor himself to meddle with, and as the apparent Merits of it on his part want little help to illustrate them, so I thought it better that a Stranger, I might say an Enemy, like myself, to the Doctor, should undertake it, than he.

I might add, that I could wish that the Task had fallen into a better hand; but since it is where it is, as I can solemnly before God satisfie myself of my pro-

proceedings in this matter, ſo I ſhall endeavour to make them good; and if the Doctor's Enemies are reſolv'd on no Peace with him, I am reſolv'd on his behalf, to ſee how powerful they will prove in the Polemicks.

All therefore that I ſhall deſire of his Enemies, for now if they perſiſt they are mine alſo is, but that they anſwer me with candour and ingenuity, with brevity and perſpicuity, and with ſolid ſence and integrity; and if ſo, they endeavour to refute what I have ſaid for the Doctor, I'll promiſe them, they ſhall not want as fair a Reply as they can wiſh for.

But if notwithſtanding all has been ſaid, they will ſtill continue to Libel a Member formerly of the greateſt Reputation in the Church, and to whoſe Controverſies all Proteſtancy is oblig'd; I ſay, if ſuch Elders who as St. *Paul* adviſes, muſt be treated with the greateſt reſpect, cannot have common Charity allow'd them; I ſay, if this be the temper of his Adverſaries, let it ſuffice the World, at leaſt the worthier part of it, that they revile him without reaſon, that they have had a tender of a fair ſatisfaction, and have refus'd it, whereupon all Mankind muſt acquit the Doctor, and reſtore him to their former eſteem, whilſt they wholly laythe blame and guilt upon his Enemies.

But methinks I have a proſpect of better hope, of his Enemies, at beſt of the more conſiderable of them. It cannot be, that they ſhould perſiſt to do as they have done; nay, I am perſwaded they won't; for however they may charge Paſſive-Obedience

dience honourably with its Miſchiefs in their Zeal, yet they will not ſurely thus force an occaſion for it, they will no longer keep Men in fear from joining with the Government for being of that Principle, nor encourage the continuance of ſo unjuſt a ſlander; methinks, I ſay, for their own, nay, the Publick, and Piety's ſake, they will ceaſe to perſiſt in this courſe longer. I end with the Commandment:

Thou ſhalt not bear Falſe Witneſs againſt thy Neighbour.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PReface, p. 1. l. 23. *Mr.* Per. read *Mr.* Parkinſon; and in the laſt line *was it no the Doctor*, read *was it not the Doctor*. p. 8. l. 30. *and from the Doctor's Title*, read *as from the Doctor's Title*.